159 /22 cont./
619 inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 José was already trying then in every possible way to be-
593 come independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily
114 from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Coroado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 As a result of the active and close contact which had pre-
182 vailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already
353 mentioned that José Coroado's large house showed friezes with
619 paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again partici-
182 pating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because
756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

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aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

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When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
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changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
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giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
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fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
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arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
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was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who
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passed through these regions. There were large plantations in the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
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manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

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539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

796 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

• 182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 789 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunt- [224] ing and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with [226] which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future [241] calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities [396] and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by [782] propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw [262] materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same crafts- man? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap- 97 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

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satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamũra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagatopüri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagatopüri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamũra. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than vestments, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

784 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamũra, kadopa, topiehe, karoui, iuanaguroro, and kilaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uanki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, [796] death, and shamanistic initiation. Uanki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the 756 tadaunũto celebration. The other method was shamanism. 784 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have consti- 182 tuted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they 756 had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural 787 was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other 276 narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamũra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

795 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large aldea, reflects as might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamũra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.